





Manners and Customs of the Indians.

By THOMAS MORTON.

AN EXTRACT FROM HIS "NEW ENGLISH CANAAN," 1637.

Of their Houses and Habitations.

THE Natives of New England are accustomed to build them houses much like the wild Irish; they gather Poles in the woodes and put the great end of them in the ground, placing them in forme of a circle or circumference, and, bendinge the topps of them in forme of an Arch, they bind them together with the Barke of Walnut trees, which is wondrous tuffe, so that they make the same round on the Topp for the imooke of their fire to assend and passe through; these they cover with matts, some made of reeds and some of longe flagges, or sedge, finely sowed together with needles made of the splinter bones of a Cranes legge, with threeds made of their Indian hempe, which their groueth naturally, leaving severall places for dores, which are covered with mats, which may be rowled up and let downe againe at their pleasures, making use of the severall dores, according as the winde fitts. The fire is alwayes made in the middest of the house, with winde fals commonly: yet some times they fell a tree that groweth neere the house, and, by drawing in the end thereof, maintaine the fire on both sides, burning the tree by Degrees shorter and shorter, untill it be all consumed; for it burneth night and day. Their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire; they lye upon planks, commonly about a foote or 18. inches above the ground, raised upon railes that are borne up upon forks; they lay mats under them, and Coats of Deares skinner, otters, beavers, Racownes, and

of Beares hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good lether, with the haire on, for their coverings: and in this manner they lye as warme as they desire. In the night they take their rest; in the day time either the kettle is on with fish or flesh, by no allowance, or else the fire is employed in roasting of fishes, which they delight in. The aire doeth beget good stomacks, and they feede continually, and are no niggards of their vittels; for they are willing that any one shall eate with them. Nay, if any one that shall come into their houses and there fall a sleepe, when they see him disposed to lye downe, they will spread a matt for him of their owne accord, and lay a roule of skinnes for a boulder, and let him lye. If hee sleepe untill their meate be dished up, they will set a wooden boule of meate by him that sleepeth, and wake him saying, Cattup keene Meekin: That is, If you be hungry, there is meat for you, where if you will eate you may. Such is their Humanity.

Likewise, when they are minded to remoove, they carry away the mats with them; other materiales the place adjoining will yeald. They use not to winter and summer in one place, for that would be a reason to make fuell scarce; but, after the manner of the gentry of Civilized natives, remoove for their pleasures; some times to their hunting places, where they remaine keeping good hospitality for that season; and sometimes to their fishing places, where they abide for that season likewise; and at the spring, when fish comes in plentifully, they have meetings from severall places, where they exercise themselves in gaminge and playing of juglinge trickes and all manner of Revelles, which they are delighted in; [so] that it is admirable to behould what pastime they use of severall kindes, every one striving to surpasse each other. After this manner they spend their time.

Of the Indians apparrell.

THE Indians in these parts do make their apparrell of the skinnes of severall sortes of beastes, and commonly of those that doe frequent those partes where they doe live; yet some of them, for variety, will have the skinnes of such beasts that frequent the partes of their neighbors, which they purchase of them by Commerce and Trade.

These skinnes they convert into very good lether, making the same plume and soft. Some of these skinnes they dresse with the haire on, and some with the haire off; the hairy side in winter time they weare next their bodies, and in warme weather

they weare the haire outwards: they make likewise some Coates of the Feathers of Turkies, which they weave together with twine of their owne makinge, very prittily: these garments they weare like mantels knit over their shoulders, and put under their arme; they have likewise another sort of mantels, made of Mose skinnnes, which beast is a great large Deere so bigge as a horse; these skinnnes they commonly dresse bare, and make them wondrous white, and stripe them with size round about the borders, in forme like lace set on by a Taylor, and some they stripe with size in workes of severall fashions very curious, according to the severall fantasies of the workemen, wherein they strive to excell one another: And Mantels made of Beares skinnnes is an usuall wearinge, among the Natives that live where the Beares doe haunt: they make shooes of Mose skinnnes, which is the principall leather used to that purpose; and for want of such lether (which is the strongest) they make shooes of Deeres skinnnes, very handfomly and commodious; and, of such deeres skinnnes as they dresse bare, they make stockinges that comes within their shooes, like a stirrop stockinge, and is fastned above at their belt, which is about their middell; Every male, after hee attaines unto the age which they call Pubes, wereth a belt about his middell, and a broad peece of lether that goeth betweene his leggs and is tuckt up both before and behinde under that belt; . . . those garments they allwayes put on, when they goe a huntinge, to keepe their skinnnes from the brush of the Shrubbs: and when they have their Apparrell one they looke like Irish in their trouses, the Stockinges joyne so to their breeches. A good well growne deere skin is of great account with them, and it must have the tale on, or else they account it defaced; the tale being three times as long as the tales of our English Deere, yea foure times so longe, this when they travell is raped round about their body and, with a girdle of their making, bound round about their middles, to which girdle is fastned a bagg, in which his instruments be with which hee can strike fire upon any occasion.

Thus with their bow in their left hand, and their quiver of Arrowes at their back, hanging one their left shoulder with the lower end of it in their right hand, they will runne away a dogg trot untill they come to their journey end; and, in this kinde of ornament, they doe seeme to me to be handfomer than when they are in English apparrell, their gesture being answerable to their one habit and not unto ours.

Their women have shooes and stockinges to weare likewise when they please, such as the men have, but the mantle they

use to cover their nakedness with is much longer then that which the men use; for, as the men have one Deeres skinn, the women have two foed together at the full lenght, and it is so lardge that it trailes after them like a great Ladies trane; and in time I thinke they may have their Pages to beare them up; and where the men use but one Beares skinn for a Mantle, the women have two foed together; and if any of their women would at any time shift one, they take that which they intend to make use of, and cast it over them round, before they shifte away the other, for modesty, . . . which is to be noted in people uncivilized; therein they seeme to have as much modesty as civilized people, and deserve to be applauded for it.

Of their Reverence, and respect to age.

It is a thing to be admired, and indeede made a president, that a Nation yet uncivilized should more respect age than some nations civilized, since there are so many precepts both of divine and humane writers extant to instruct more Civill Nations: in that particular, wherein they excell, the younger are allwayes obedient unto the elder people, and at their commaunds in every respect without grumblings; in all counsels, (as therein they are circumspect to do their acciones by advise and counsell, and not rashly or inconsiderately,) the younger mens opinion shall be heard, but the old mens opinion and counsell imbraced and followed: besides, as the elder feede and provide for the younger in infancy, so doe the younger, after being growne to yeares of manhood, provide for those that be aged; and in distribution of Acctes the elder men are first served by their dispensator; and their counsels (especiallly if they be powahs) are esteemed as oracles amongst the younger Natives.

The consideration of these things, mee thinkes, should reduce some of our irregular young people of civilized Nations, when this story shall come to their knowledge, to better manners, and make them ashamed of their former error in this kinde, and to become hereafter more duetyfull; which I, as a friend, (by observation having found,) have herein recorded for that purpose.

Of the maintaining of their Reputation.

REPUTATION is such a thing that it keepes many men in awe, even amongst Civilized nations, and is very much stood upon: it is (as one hath very well noted) the awe of great men and of Kings. And, since I have observed it to be main-

tained amongst Salvage people, I cannot chuse but give an instance thereof in this treatise, to confirme the common received opinion thereof.

The Sachem or Sagamore of Sagus made choise, when hee came to mans estate, of a Lady of noble discent, Daughter to Papasiquineo, the Sachem or Sagamore of the territories neare Merrimack River, a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts, and (as my Countryman Mr. Wood declares in his prospect) a great Nigromancer; this Lady the younge Sachem with the consent and good liking of her father marries, and takes for his wife. Great entertainment hee and his received in those parts at her fathers hands, where they weare fested in the best manner that might be expected, according to the Custome of their nation, with reveling and such other solemnities as is usuall amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papasiquineo causes a selected number of his men to waite upon his Daughter home into those parts that did properly belong to her Lord and husband; where the attendants had entertainment by the Sachem of Saugus and his Countrymen: the solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

Not long after the new married Lady had a great desire to see her father and her native country, from whence shee came; her Lord willing to pleasure her, and not deny her request, amongst them thought to be reasonable, commanded a selected number of his owne men to conduct his Lady to her Father, wher, with great respect, they brought her; and, having feasted there a while, returned to their owne country againe, leaving the Lady to continue there at her owne pleasure, amongst her friends and old acquaintance; where shee passed away the time for a while, and in the end desired to returne to her Lord againe. Her father, the old Papasiquineo, having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the younge Sachem, his sonne in law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absent her selfe from his company any longer, and therefore, as the messengers had in charge, desired the younge Lord to send a convoy for her; but hee, standing upon tearmes of honor, and the maintaining of his reputation, returned to his father in law this answere, that, when she departed from him, hee caused his men to waite upon her to her fathers territories, as it did become him; but, now shee had an intent to returne, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people; and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so

servile, to fetch her againe. The old Sachem, Papafiquineo, having this message returned, was enraged to think that his young son in law did not esteeme him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and returne[d] him this sharpe reply; that his daughters bloud and birth deserved more respect than to be so slighted; and, therefore, if he would have her company, hee were best to send or come for her.

The younge Sachem, not willing to under value himselfe and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say that hee should either send her by his owne Convey, or keepe her; for hee was determined not to stoope so lowe.

So much these two Sachems stood upon tearmes of reputation with each other, the one would not send her, and the other would not send for her, leaft it should be any diminishing of honor on his part that should seeme to comply, that the Lady (when I came out of the Country) remained still with her father; which is a thinge worth the noting, that Salvage people should seeke to maintaine their reputation so much as they doe.*

Of their trafficke and trade one with another.

ALTHOUGH these people have not the use of navigation, whereby they may trafficke as other nations, that are civilized, use to doe, yet doe they barter for such commodities as they have, and have a kinde of beads insteede of money, to buy withall such things as they want, which they call Wampampeak: and it is of two sorts, the one is white, the other is of a violet coloure. These are made of the shells of fishe. The white with them is as silver with us; the other as our gould: and for these beads they buy and sell, not onely amongst themselves, but even with us.

We have used to sell them any of our commodities for this Wampampeak, because we know we can have beaver againe of them for it: and these beads are currant in all the parts of New England, from one end of the Coast to the other.

And although some have indevoured by example to have the like made of the same kinde of shells, yet none hath ever, as yet, attained to any perfection in the compofure of them,

* This incident is the subject of Whittier's poem, *The Bridal of Pennacook*; but Adams—see his note in the *New English Canaan*, p. 155—doubts its authenticity.—*Editor.*

but that the Salvages have found a great difference to be in the one and the other; and have knowne the counterfett beads from those of their owne making; and have, and doe slight them.

The skinnes of beasts are sould and bartered, to such people as have none of the same kinde in the parts where they live.

Likewise they have earthen potts of divers sizes, from a quarte to a gallon, 2. or 3. to boyle their vitels in; very stronge, though they be thin like our Iron potts.

They have dainty wooden bowles of maple, of high price amongst them; and these are disperfed by bartering one with the other, and are but in certaine parts of the Country made, where the severall trades are appropriated to the inhabitants of those parts onely.

So likewise (at the season of the yeare) the Salvages that live by the Sea side for trade with the inlanders for fresh water, reles curious silver reles, which are bought up of such as have them not frequent in other places: chestnuts, and such like usefull things as one place affordeth, are sould to the inhabitants of another, where they are a novelty accompted amongst the natives of the land. And there is no such thing to barter withall, as is their Whampampeake.

Of their Magazines or Storehouses.

THESE people are not without providence, though they be uncivilized, but are carefull to preserve foede in store against winter; which is the corne that they laboure and dresse in the summer. And, although they eate freely of it, whiles it is growinge, yet have they a care to keepe a convenient portion thereof to releve them in the dead of winter, (like to the Ant and the Bee,) which they put under ground.

Their barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogthead of corne a peece in them. In these (when their corne is out of the huske and well dried) they lay their store in greate baskets (which they make of Sparke) with matts under, about the sides, and on the top; and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preserved from destruction or putrification; to be used in case of necessity, and not elfe.

And I am perswaded, that if they knew the benefit of Salte (as they may in time,) and the meanes to make false meate fresh againe, they would endeavor to preserve filhe for winter, as well

as corne; and that if any thinge bring them to civility, it will be the use of Salte, to have foode in store, which is a cheife benefit in a civilized Commonwealth.

These people have begunne already to incline to the use of Salte. Many of them would begge Salte of mee for to carry home with them, that had frequented our howses and had been acquainted with our Salte meats: and Salte I willingly gave them, although I fould them all things else, onely because they should be delighted with the use there of, and thinke it a commodity of no value in it selfe, although the benefit was great that might be had by the use of it.

Of their admirable perfection, in the use of the fences.

THIS is a thinge not onely observed by mee and diverse of the Salvages of New England, but, also, by the French men in Nova Francia, and therefore I am the more incouraged to publish in this Treatise my observation of them in the use of theire fences: which is a thinge that I should not easily have bin induced to beleeeve, if I my selfe had not bin an eie witnesse of what I shall relate.

I have observed that the Salvages have the fence of seeing so farre beyond any of our Nation, that one would allmost beleeeve they had intelligence of the Devill sometimes, when they have tould us of a shipp at Sea, which they have seene soener by one hower, yea, two howers sayle, then any English man that stood by of purpose to looke out, their sight is so excellent.

Their eies indeede are black as iett; and that coler is accounted the strongest for sight. And as they excell us in this particular so much noted, so I thinke they excell us in all the rest.

This I am sure I have well observed, that in the fence of smelling they have very great perfection; which is confirmed by the opinion of the French that are planted about Canada, who have made relation that they are so perfect in the use of that fence, that they will distinguish between a Spaniard and a Frenchman by the sent of the hand onely. And I am persuaded that the Author of this Relation has seene very probable reasons that have induced him to be of that opinion; and I am the more willing to give credit thereunto, because I have observed in them so much as that comes to.

I have seene a Deare passe by me upon a neck of Land, and a Salvage that has pursued him by the view. I have accompanied him in this pursuite; and the Salvage, pricking the Deare, comes where hee findes the view of two deares together, leading severall wayes. One, hee was sure, was fresh, but which (by the sence of seeing) hee could not judge; therefore, with his knife, hee diggs up the earth of one; and by smelling, sayes, that was not of the fresh Deare: then diggs hee up the other; and viewing and smelling to that, concludes it to be the view of the fresh Deare, which hee had pursued; and thereby followes the chase, and killes that Deare, and I did eate part of it with him: such is their perfection in these two senses.

Of their pretty conjuring tricks.

If we doe not judge amisse of these Salvages in accounting them witches, yet out of all question we may be bould to conclude them to be but weake witches, such of them as wee call by the names of Powahs: some correspondency they have with the Devil out of al doubt, as by some of their accions, in which they glory, is manifested. Papasiquineo, that Sachem or Sagamore, is a Powah of greate estimation amongst all kinde of Salvages there: hee is at their Revels (which is the time when a great company of Salvages meete from severall parts of the Country, in amity with their neighbours) hath advanced his honor in his feats or jugling tricks (as I may right tearme them) to the admiration of the spectators, whome hee endeavoured to perswade that he would goe under water to the further side of a river, to broade for any man to undertake with a breath, which thing hee performed by swimming over, and deluding the company with casting a mist before their eies that see him enter in and come out, but no part of the way hee has bin seene: likewise by our English, in the heat of all summer to make Ice appeare in a bowle of faire water; first, having the water set before him, hee hath begunne his incantation according to their usuall accustome, and before the same has bin ended a thick Clowde has darkned the aire and, on a sodane, a thunder clap hath bin heard that has amazed the natives: in an instant hee hath shewed a firme peece of Ice to flote in the midst of the bowle in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtles was done by the agility of Satan, his confort.

And by meanes of these sleights, and such like trivial things as these, they gaine such estimation amongst the rest of the Salvages that it is thought a very impious matter for any man to derogate from the words of these Powahs. In so much as hee that should slight them, is thought to commit a crime no lesse hainous amongst them as sacriledge is with us, as may appeare by this one passage, which I will set forth for an instance.

A neighbour of mine that had entertain'd a Salvage into his service, to be his factor for the beaver trade amongst his countrymen, delivered unto him divers parcells of commodities fit for them to trade with; amongst the rest there was one coate of more esteeme then any of the other, and with this his new entertained marchant man travels amongst his countrymen to truck them away for beaver: as our custome hath bin, the Salvage went up into the Country amongst his neighbours for beaver, and returned with some, but not enough answerable to his Masters expectation, but being called to an accompt, and especially for that one Coate of speciall note, made answer that he had given that coate to Tantoquineo, a Powah: to which his master in a rage cryed, what have I to doe with Tantoquineo? The Salvage, very angry at the matter, cryed, what you speake? you are not a very good man; wil you not give Tantoq. a coat? whats this? as if he had offered *Tantoquineo* the greatest indignity that could be devised: so great is the estimation and reverence that these people have of these Iugling Powahs, who are usually sent for when any person is sicke and ill at ease to recover them, for which they receive rewards as doe our Chirgeons and Phisitions; and they doe make a trade of it, and boast of their skill where they come: One amongst the rest did undertake to cure an Englishman of a swelling of his hand for a parcell of biskett, which being delivered him hee tooke the party greived into the woods aside from company, and with the helpe of the devill, (as may be conjectured,) quickly recovered him of that swelling, and sent him about his worke againe.

Of their duels, and the honourable estimation of victory obtained thereby.

THESE Salvages are not apt to quarrell one with another: yet such hath bin the occasion that a difference hath happened which hath growne to that height that it has not bin reconciled

otherwise then by combat, which hath bin performed in this manner: the two champions prepared for the fight, with their bowes in hand and a quiver full of arrowes at their backs, they have entered into the field; the Challenger and challenged have chosen two trees, standing within a little distance of each other; they have cast lotts for the cheife of the trees, then either champion setting himselfe behinde his tree watches an advantage to let fly his shafts, and to gall his enemy; there they continue shooting at each other; if by chaunce they espie any part open, they endeavour to gall the combatant in that part, and use much agility in the performance of the taske they have in hand. Resolute they are in the execution of their vengeance, when once they have begunne; and will in no wise be daunted, or feeme to shrinck though they doe catch a clap with an arrow, but fight it out in this manner untill one or both be slaine.

I have bin shewed the places where such duels have bin performed, and have fuond the trees marked for a memoriall of the Combat, where that champion hath stood that had the hap to be slaine in the duell: and they count it the greatest honor that can be to the ferving Cumbatant, to shew the scares of the wounds received in this kinde of Conflict, and if it happen to be on the arme, as those parts are most in danger in these cafes, they will alwayes weare a bracelet upon that place of the arme, as a trophy of honor to their dying day.

Of their Subtlety.

THESE people are not, as some have thought, a dull, or slender witted people, but very ingenious, and very subtile. I could give maine instances to maintaine mine opinion of them in this; but I will onely relate one, which is a passage worthy to be observed.

In the Massachussets bay lived Cheecatawback, the Sachem or Sagamore of those territories, who had large dominions which hee did appropriate to himselfe.

Into those parts came a greate company of Salvages from the territories of Narohiganset, to the number of 100. persons; and in this Sachems Dominions they intended to winter.

When they went a hunting for turkies they spreade over such a greate scope of ground that a Turkie could hardly escape them: Deare they killed up in greate abundance, and

feasted their bodies very plentifully: Beavers they killed by no allowance; the skinnes of those they traded away at Wafagufcus with my neighbours for corne, and such other commodities as they had neede of; and my neighbours had a wonderfull great benefit by their being in those parts. Yea, sometimes (like genious fellowes) they would present their Marchant with a fatt beaver skinne, alwayes the tayle was not diminished, but presented full and whole; although the tayle is a present for a Sachem, and is of such masculine vertue that if some of our Ladies knew the benefit thereof they would desire to have ships sent of purpose to trade for the tayle alone: it is such a rarity, as is not more esteemed of then reason doth require.

But the Sachem Cheecatawbak, (on whose possessions they usurped, and converted the commodities thereof to their owne use, contrary to his liking,) not being of power to resist them, practised to doe it by a subtile stratagem. And to that end gave it out amongst us, that the cause why these other Salvages of the Narohiganfets came into these parts, was to see what strength we were of, and to watch an opportunity to cut us off, and take that which they found in our custody usefull for them; And added further, they would burne our howses, and that they had caught one of his men, named Meshebro, and compelled him to discover to them where their barnes, Magazines, or store-houses were, and had taken away his corne; and seemed to be in a pittifull perplexity about the matter.

And, the more to adde reputation to this tale, desires that his wives and children might be harbored in one of our howses. This was graunted; and my neighbours put on corslets, head-peeces, and weapons defensive and offensive.

This thing being knowne to Cheecatawback, hee caused some of his men to bring the Narohiganfets to trade, that they might see the preparation. The Salvage, that was a stranger to the plott, simply comming to trade, and finding his merchants lookes like lobsters, all cladd in harnesse, was in a maze to thinke what would be the end of it. Haste hee made to trade away his fures, and tooke anything for them, wishing himselfe well rid of them and of the company in the howse.

But (as the manner has bin) hee must eate some furmety before hee goe: downe he sits and eats, and withall had an eie on every side; and now and then saw a sword or a dagger layd a thwart a head peece, which hee wondered at, and asked

his giude whether the company were not angry. The guide, (that was privy to his Lords plot) answered in his language that hee could not tell. But the harmlesse Salvage, before hee had halfe filled his belly, started up on a sodayne, and ranne out of the howse in such hast that hee left his furnety there, and stayed not to looke behinde him who came after: Glad hee was that he had escaped so.

The subtile Sachem, hee playd the tragedian, and fained a feare of being surprised; and sent to see whether the enemies (as the Messenger termed them) were not in the howse; and comes in a by way with his wifes and children, and stopps the chinkes of the out howse, for feare the fire might be seene in the night, and be a meanes to direct his enemies where to finde them.

And, in the meane time, hee prepared for his Ambassador to his enemies a Salvage, that had lived 12. moneths in England, to the end it might adde reputation to his ambassage. This man hee sends to those intruding Narohiganfets, to tell them that they did very great injury to his Lord, to trench upon his prerogatives: and advised them to put up their pipes, and begon in time: if they would not, that his Lord would come upon them, and in his ayd his freinds the English, who were up in armes already to take his part, and compell them by force to be gone, if they refused to depart by faire meanes.

This message, comming on the neck of that which doubtlesse the fearefull Salvage had before related of his escape, and what hee had observed, caused all those hundred Narohiganfets (that meant us no hurt) to be gone with bagg, and baggage. And my neighbours were gulled by the subtilty of this Sachem, and lost the best trade of beaver that ever they had for the time; and in the end found their error in this kinde of credulity when it was too late.

Of a great mortality that happened amongst the Natives of New England, neere about the time that the English came there to plant.

It fortun'd some few yeares before the English came to inhabit at new Plimmouth, in New England, that upon some distaft given in the Massachussets bay by the Frenchmen, then trading there with the Natives for beaver, they set upon the men at such advantage that they killed manie of them, burned their shipp, then riding at Anchor by an Island there, now called

Peddocks Island, in memory of Leonard Peddock that landed there, (where many wilde Anckies* haunted that time, which hee thought had bin tame) diftributing them unto 5. Sachems, which were Lords of the feverall territories adjoyninge: they did keepe them fo longe as they lived, onely to sport themselves at them, and made thefe five Frenchmen fetch them wood and water, which is the generall worke that they require of a fervant. One of thefe five men, out livinge the reft, had learned fo much of their language as to rebuke them for their bloody deede, faying that God would be angry with them for it, and that hee would in his difpleafure deftroy them; but the Salvages (it feemes boasting of their ftrengh,) replied and fayd, that they were fo many that God could not kill them.

But contrary wife, in fhort time after the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with fuch a mortall ftroake that they died on heapes as they lay in their houfes; and the living, that were able to fhift for themfelves, would runne away and let them dy, and let there Carkafes ly above the ground without buriall. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left a live to tell what became of the reft; the livinge being (as it feemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crowes, Kites and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the feverall places of their habitations made fuch a fpectacle after my comming into thofe partes, that, as I travailed in that Forreft nere the Maffachuffets, it feemed to mee a new found Golgatha.

But otherwife, it is the cuftome of thofe Indian people to bury their dead ceremonioufly and carefully, and then to abandon that place, becaufe they have no defire the place fhould put them in minde of mortality: and this mortality was not ended when the Brownifts of new Plimmouth were fetled at Patuxet in New Fngland: and by all likelyhood the fickneffe that thefe Indians died of was the Plague, as by conference with them fince my arrivall and habitation in thofe partes, I have learned. And by this meanes there is as yet but a fmall number of Salvages in New England, to that which hath beene in former time, and the place is made fo much the more fitt for the Englifh Nation to inhabit in, and erect in it Temples to the glory of God.

*This, as Mr Adams fuggests, is undoubtedly a misprint for Auckies, which was a faylor's corruption for Auk,—the Great Auk being probably the bird referred to. This bird, now fupposed to be extinct, was formerly common on the New England coaft. Audubon, writing in 1838, fays, "An old gunner refiding on Chelsea Beach, near Boston, told me that he we I remembered the time when the Penguins were plentiful about Nahant and fome iflands in the bay"

Of their Religion.

It has bin a common receaved opinion from Cicero, that there is no people so barbarous but have some worhipp or other. In this particular, I am not of opinion therein with Tully; and, surely, if hee had bin amongst those people so longe as I have bin, and conversed so much with them touching this matter of Religion, hee would have changed his opinion. Neither should we have found this error, amongst the rest, by the helpe of that wodden prospect,* if it had not been so unadvisedly built upon such highe land as that Coast. (all mens judgements in generall,) doth not yeeld, had hee but taken the judicciall councill of Sir William Alexander, that settis this thing forth in an exact and conclusive sentence; if hee be not too obstinate? hee would graunt that worthy writer, that these people are *sine fide, sine lege, & sine rege*, and hee hath exemplified this thinge by a familiar demonstration, which I have by longe experience observed to be true.

And, me thinks, it is absurd to say they have a kinde of worship, and not able to demonstrate whome or what it is they are accustomed to worship. For my part I am more willing to beleieve that the Elephants (which are reported to be the most intelligible of all beasts) doe worship the moone, for the reasons given by the author of this report, as Mr. Thomas May, the minion of the Muses dos recite it in his continuation of Lucans historicall poem, rather then this man: to that I must bee constrained, to conclude against him, and Cicero, that the Natives of New England have no worship nor religion at all; and I am sure it has been so observed by those that neede not the helpe of a wodden prospect for the matter.

*The reference here is to Wood's *New England's Prospect* (p. 70). In regard to the time when this work was written and published, see Mr. Deane's preface to the edition in the publications of the Prince Society. Morton makes numerous references to it in the *New Canaan*. . . . The present reference is one of the few unintelligible passages in the book. Wood's language, to which Morton apparently takes exception, is as follows: "As it is natural to all mortals to worship something, so do these people; but exactly to describe to whom their worship is chiefly bent, is very difficult; they acknowledge especially two, Ketan, who is their good God, to whom they sacrifice after their garners be full with a good crop: upon this God likewise they invoke for fair weather, for rain in time of drought, and for the recovery of their sick; but if they do not hear them, then they verify the old verse, *Plectere si nequeo Superes, Acheronta movebo*, their Pow-wows betaking themselves to their exorcisms and unromantick charms. . . . by God's permission, through the Devil's help, their charms are of force to produce effects of wonderment." Morton would seem to have wished to depreciate Wood as an authority on New England; and so, playing upon his name and the title of his book, he implied that he had taken a much more elevated view of the religious development of the Indians than could be justified either by the actual facts or the judgment of the best informed. Being unintelligible, the passage, from the word "neither" to the end of the paragraph, is reproduced here in all respects, including punctuation, as it is in the text of the original edition. — C. F. Adams.

*Of their acknowledgment of the Creation, and immortality
of the Soule.*

ALTHOUGH these Salvages are found to be without Religion, Law, and King (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed,) yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically); for they have it amongst them by tradition that God made one man and one woman, and bad them live together and get children, kill deare, beasts, birds, fish and fowle, and what they would at their pleasure; and that their posterity was full of evill, and made God so angry that hee let in the Sea upon them, and drowned the greatest part of them, that were naughty men, (the Lord destroyed so;) and they went to Sanaconquam, who feeds upon them (pointing to the Center of the Earth, where they imagine is the habitation of the Devill :) the other, (which were not destroyed,) increased the world, and when they died (because they were good) went to the howse of Kytan, pointing to the setting of the sonne; where they eate all manner of dainties, and never take paines (as now) to provide it.

Kytan makes provision (they say) and faves them that laboure; and there they shall live with him forever, voyd of care. And they are perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits.

And that wee that use the booke of Common prayer doo it to declare to them, that cannot reade, what Kytan has commaunded us, and that wee doe pray to him with the helpe of that booke; and doe make so much accompt of it, that a Salvage (who had lived in my howse before hee had taken a wife, by whome hee had children) made this request to mee, (knowing that I allwayes used him with much more respect than others,) that I would let his sonne be brought up in my howse, that hee might be taught to reade in that booke which request of his I granted; and hee was a very joyfull man to thinke that his sonne should thereby (as hee said) become an Englishman; and then hee would be a good man.

I asked him who was a good man; his answere was, hee that would not lye, nor steale.

These, with them, are all the capitall crimes that can be imagined; all other are nothing in respect of those; and hee that is free from these must live with Kytan for ever, in all manner of pleasure.

Of their Annals and funerals.

THESE people, that have by tradition some touch of the immortality of the soule, have likewise a custome to make some monuments over the place where the corps is interred: But they put a greate difference betwene persons of noble, and of ignoble, or obscure, or inferior descent. For, indeed, in the grave of the more noble they put a planck in the bottom for the corps to be layed upon, and on each side a plancke, and a plancke upon the top in forme of a chest, before they cover the place with earth. This done, they erect some thing over the grave in forme of a hearse cloath, as was that of Cheekatawbacks mother, which the Plimmouth planters defaced because they accounted it an act of superstition; which did breede a brawle; for they hold impious and inhumane to deface the monuments of the dead. They themselves esteeme of it as piaculum; and have a custome amongst them to keepe their annals and come at certaine times to lament and bewaile the losse of their freind; and use to black their faces, which they so weare, instead of a mourning ornament, for a longer or a shorter time according to the dignity of the person: so is their annals kept and observed with their accustomed solemnity. Afterwards they absolutely abandon the place, because they suppose the sight thereof will but renew their sorrow.

It was a thing very offensive to them, at our first comming into those parts, to aske of them for any one that had bin dead; but of later times it is not so offensively taken to renew the memory of any deceased person, because by our example (which they are apt to followe) it is made more familiare unto them; and they marvell to see no monuments over our dead, and therefore thinke no great Sachem is yet come into those parts, or not as yet deade; because they see the graves all alike.

Of their Custome in burning the Country, and the reason thereof.

THE Salvages are accustomed to set fire of the Country in all places where they come, and to burne it twize a yeare, viz.: at the Spring, and the fall of the leafe. The reason that mooves them to doe so, is because it would other wise be so overgrowne with underweedes that it would be all a coppice wood, and the people would not be able in any wise to passe through the Country out of a beaten path.

The meanes that they do it with, is with certaine minerall stones, that they carry about them in baggs made for that purpose of the skinnes of little beastes, which they convert into good lether, carrying in the same a peece of touch wood, very excellent for that purpose, of their owne making. These minerall stones they have from the Piquenteenes, (which is to the Southward of all the plantations in New England,) by trade and trafficke with those people.

The burning of the grasse destroys the underwoods, and so scorseth the elder trees that it shrinkes them, and hinders their growth very much: so that hee that will looke to finde large trees and good tymber, must not depend upon the help of a wooden prospect to finde them on the upland ground;* but must seeke for them, (as I and others have done,) in the lower grounds, where the grounds are wett, when the Country is fired, by reason of the snow water that remaines there for a time, untill the Sunne by continuance of that hath exhaled the vapoures of the earth, and dried up those places where the fire (by reason of the moisture,) can have no power to doe them any hurt: and if he would endeavour to finde out any goodly Cedars, hee must not seeke for them on the higher grounds, but make his inquest for them in the vallies, for the Salvages, by this custome of theirs, have spoiled all the rest: for this custome hath bin continued from the beginninge.

And least their firing of the Country in this manner should be an occasion of damnifying us, and indaingering our habitations, wee our selves have used carefully about the same times to observe the winds, and fire the grounds about our owne habitations; to prevent the Dammage that might happen by any neglect thereof, if the fire should come neere those howses in our absence.

For, when the fire is once kindled, it dilates and spreads it selfe as well against, as with the winde; burning continually night and day, untill a shower of raine falls to quench it.

And this custome of firing the Country is the meanes to make it passable; and by that meanes the trees growe here and there as in our parks: and makes the Country very beautifull and commodious.

* The reference is to Wood's *New England's Prospect*, p. 13, where also the Indian custom of firing the country in November is described.—*Adams*.

Of their inclination to Drunkenness.

ALTHOUGH Drunkenness be justly termed a vice which the Salvages are ignorant of, yet the benefit is very great that comes to the planters by the sale of strong liquor to the Salvages, who are much taken with the delight of it; for they will pawn their wits, to purchase the acquaintance of it. Yet in all the commerce that I had with them, I never proffered them any such thing; nay, I would hardly let any of them have a dram, unless hee were a Sachem, or a Winnaytue, that is a rich man, or a man of estimation next in degree to a Sachem or Sagamore. I alwayes told them it was amongst us the Sachems drinke. But they say if I come to the Northerne parts of the Country I shall have no trade, if I will not supply them with lusty liquors: it is the life of the trade in all those parts: for it so happened that thus a Salvage desperately killed himselfe; when hee was drunke, a gunne being charged and the cock up, hee sets the mouth to his brest, and, putting back the trigger with his foote, shot himselfe dead.

That the Salvages live a contented life.

A GENTLEMAN and a traveller, that had bin in the parts of New England for a time, when hee returned againe, in his discourse of the Country, wondered, (as hee said,) that the natives of the land lived so poorely in so rich a Country, like to our Beggars in England. Surely that Gentleman had not time or leasure whiles hee was there truly to informe himselfe of the state of that Country, and the happy life the Salvages would leade weare they once brought to Christianity.

I must confesse they want the use and benefit of Navigation, (which is the very finnis of a flourishing Commonwealth,) yet are they supplied with all manner of needfull things for the maintenance of life and livelyhood. Foode and rayment are the cheife of all that we make true use of; and of these they finde no want, but have, and may have, them in a most plentifull manner.

If our beggars of England should, with so much ease as they, furnish themselves with foode at all seasons, there would not be so many starved in the streets, neither would so many gaoles be stuffed, or gallowes furnished with poore wretches, as I have seene them.

But they of this sort of our owne nation, that are fitt to goe to this Canaan, are not able to transport themselves; and most of them unwilling to goe from the good ale tap, which is the very loadstone of the lande by which our English beggers steere theire Course; it is the Northpole to which the flowre-de-luce of their compasse points. The more is the pittie that the Commonalty of oure Land are of such leaden capacities as to neglect so brave a Country, that doth so plentifully feede maine lusty and a brave, able men, women and children, that have not the meanes that a Civilized Nation hath to purchase foode and rayment; which that Country with a little industry will yeeld a man in a very comfortable measure, without overmuch carking.

I cannot deny but a civilized Nation hath the preheminnence of an uncivilized, by meanes of those instruments that are found to be common amongst civile people, and the uncivile want the use of, to make themselves masters of those ornaments that make such a glorious shew, that will give a man occasion to cry, *sic transit gloria Mundi*.

Now since it is but foode and rayment that men that live needeth, (though not all alike,) why should not the Natives of New England be sayd to live richly, having no want of either? Cloaths are the badge of sinne; and the more variety of fashions is but the greater abuse of the Creature: the beasts of the Forrest there doe serve to furnish them at any time when they please: fish and flesh they have in greate abundance, which they both roast and boyle.

They are indeed not served in dishes of plate with variety of Sauces to procure appetite; that needs not there. The rarity of the aire, begot by the medicinable quality of the sweete herbes of the Country, always procures good stomakes to the inhabitants.

I must needs commend them in this particular, that, though they buy many commodities of our Nation, yet they keepe but fewe, and those of speciall use.

They love not to bee cumbered with many utensilles, and although every proprietor knowes his owne, yet all things, (so long as they will last), are used in common amongst them: A bisket cake given to one, that one breakes it equally into so many parts as there be persons in his company, and distributes it. Platoes Commonwealth is so much practised by these people.

According to humane reason, guided onely by the light of nature, these people leades the more happy and freer life, being

voyde of care, which torments the mindes of so many Christians: They are not delighted in baubles, but in usefull things.

Their naturall drinke is of the Cristall fountaine, and this they take up in their hands, by joyning them close together. They take up a great quantity at a time, and drinke at the wrists. It was the sight of such a feate which made Diogenes hurle away his dishe, and, like one that would have this principall confirmed, *Natura paucis contentat*, used a dish no more.

I have observed that they will not be troubled with superfluous commodities. Such things as they finde they are taught by necessity to make use of, they will make choise of, and seeke to purchase with industry. So that, in respect that their life is so voyd of care, and they are so loving also that they make use of those things they enjoy, (the wife onely excepted,) as common goods, and are therein so compassionate that, rather than one should starve through want, they would starve all. Thus doe they passe away the time merrily, not regarding our pompe, (which they see dayly before their faces,) but are better content with their owne, which some men esteeme so meanely of.

They may be rather accompted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needefull; and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the Elder, and the Elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill;* and then you may imagin what good rule is like to be amongst them.

*Morton says of the Indian conjurers, "Some correspondency they have with the Devill out of all doubt"; Wood, to the same effect, remarks that "by God's permission, through the Devil's helpe, their charmes are of force to produce effects of wonderment"; Smith declares of the Indians, "Their chiefe God they worship is the Devil"; and Mather intimates that it was the devil who seduced the first inhabitants of America into it. — *Adams*.

Thomas Morton, the author of the *New English Canaan*, is known to the student of New England history as one of the adventurers, of whom Captain Wollaston was the leader, who established themselves at Mount Wollaston, in the limits of the present town of Quincy, in 1625. Not much is known of his early life. He styles himself, on the title-page of his book, "of Cliffords Inne gent." His reputation was not good, one authority even stating that he had fled to New England "upon a foule suspition of murther." But this was at a time when human life was held cheap in many quarters. We are only sure that he was a reckless fellow, of looser morals than the Puritans whose neighbor he became. Allusions in the *New Canaan* show that he had been a man fond of field sports, and that he had been much of a traveler. They show too that he had been to Massachusetts Bay before 1625. He says at the beginning of the second book: "In the month of June, Anno Salutis 1622, it was my chance to arrive in the parts of New England with thirty servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation; and, while our houses were building, I did endeavor to take a survey of the country." This was probably in connection with Weston's settlement at Wessagusset. He tells us on his title-page that his book was written "upon tenne yeares knowledge and experiment of the country."

Of Morton's life with his men at Merry Mount, as he called Mount Wollaston, after Wollaston himself, in 1626, went away, of his trade with the Indians for furs, and the guns and rum he sold them, of his revelries and orgies, culminating in the famous episode of the May-pole, and of his final arrest and expulsion by the good people of Plymouth, all can read in the books. The fullest and best account is that by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., prefixed to the beautiful edition of the *New English Canaan* which he prepared for publication by the Prince Society. Everybody will remember Hawthorne's delightful sketch, *The May-pole of Merry Mount*; but many may not remember that Motley, when he was a very young man, before he began his great histories, made this interesting episode in our early New England history the theme of a novel: *Merry Mount, a Romance of the Massachusetts Colony*.

Whatever we may think of Morton's character — and it was probably not so bad as Bradford and the Puritans painted it — his book, which he called *New Canaan* in satire upon the strong Old Testament character of the fathers of New England who troubled him, has a distinct value. It is in three sections or books: "The first Booke setting forth the originall of the Natives, their Manners and Customes, together with their tractable Nature and Love towards the English. The second Booke setting forth the natural Indowments of the Country, and what staple Commodities it yealdeth. The third Booke setting forth, what people are planted there, their prosperity, what remarkable accidents have happened since the first

planting of it, together with their Tenents and practice of their Church." The first chapter of the first book is devoted to "Prooving New England the principall part of all America, and most commodious and fitt for habitation"; the second is "Of the originall of the Natives," a fantastic argument that the Indians were descendants of "the scattered Trojans"; the seventh is "Of their Child-bearing, and delivery, and what manner of persons they are." These three chapters, of the twenty constituting the first book, are omitted in this leaflet; the remainder of this book is here given, the order slightly changed. Mr. Adams's notes in the complete work will be consulted by the careful student.

Whatever controversies there may be over the third book, which contains the account of Morton's own career in New England, the earlier books, as containing the observations of one of the first comers to New England upon the natural history of the country and the aborigines, possess a real scientific interest. Morton made many mistakes,—Trumbull remarks that he could not write the most simple Indian word without a blunder,—but he was a lover of all out-door things, he was a curious and observing man, and he had a singularly sympathetic feeling toward the Indians and came to know them well; and what he writes has therefore a value besides that which attaches to its age and history. "Passionately fond of field sports," says Mr. Adams, "Morton found ample opportunity for the indulgence of his tastes in New England. He loved to ramble through the woods with his dog and gun, or sail in his boat on the bay. The Indians, too, were his allies, and naturally enough; for not only did he offer them an open and easy-going market for their furs, but he was companionable with them. They shared in his revels. He denies that he was in the habit of selling them spirits, but where spirits were as freely used as Morton's account shows they were at Merry Mount, the Indians undoubtedly had their share."

In 1634, three years before the appearance of Morton's *New English Canaan*, William Wood, who had come over in 1629, published his *New England's Prospect*, which contains much upon the manners and customs of the Indians. The student should compare the statements in this early work, which is an important one on many accounts for the student of early New England history, with those of Morton. Morton was familiar with what Wood had written about the Indians, and refers to the work more than once in his *New Canaan*. About forty years after Wood and Morton wrote (1674), Josselyn published his *Two Voyages*, with valuable accounts of the Indians of New England; and there is also much of value scattered through the pages of Winslow's *Good News*, Mather's *Magnalia*, and Lechford's

Plaine Dealing, as well as in the works of Bradford, Roger Williams, and others of the fathers. Very full accounts of all these early writings, as well as of the later literature upon the Indians, both of New England and the southern colonies, will be found in the notes by Justin Winsor in the first volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and the first volume of the *Memorial History of Boston*.

James Adair's *History of the American Indians*, published in 1775, was the first general history of the Indians, and is quite full in its accounts of Indian manners and customs; but Adair's studies were chiefly of the Indians south of New England. Schoolcraft's great work on *The Indian Tribes of the United States* has important sections devoted to general history and manners and customs. Schoolcraft's work has been abridged and published in two volumes, edited by Francis S. Drake, which will be more convenient and useful for many than the larger work. Mr. Drake is also the author of an *Indian History for Young Folks*. The first two chapters, "What we know about the American Indians," and "Early European Intercourse with the Indians," are closely related to subjects touched by Morton. The best single book for older readers is Rev. George E. Ellis's *The Red Man and the White Man in North America*. Its early chapters upon the origin, numbers, and character of the Indians are clear and full; and the historical portion, covering the whole time from the founding of the colonies to the present, is interesting and just. Dr. Ellis's valuable essays on the Indians, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* and the *Memorial History of Boston*, should be consulted in connection.

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